794 /76 cont./ qualities. After this person's death the grouping
602 again breaks up. The members then affiliate themselves with
182 others, each according to his own choice. There is no continuity.

Between the prominent members of a group of relatives there always exists a relationship of opposition, which is only intensified by the worship communities. There exists no possibility for such a related group to present a durable and powerful unity to the outside world.

A group of relatives with an ornament is more strongly integrated. /77/ Where there is an ornament, a worship community can be found which comprises a number of people in addition to the related group. The size of this community, however, cannot be precisely indicated.

It is therefore uncertain who constitute the worship community of an ornament. Nooteboom's definition of an ornament, given above, could therefore be simplified. An ornament is an object which is worshipped by a community of individuals.

182 In addition to this worship community, there are a num-
794 ber of extremely weak and small worship communities in a
778 group of relatives. They comprise no more than one or
602 several households. Their members turn to their ancestors in their own pantasa' for family or household affairs. In addition, they can also always turn to the ancestors who are worshipped at the ornament.

644 Ornaments are also in the hands of ordinary kampong
182 people. The royal ornaments are therefore not "inherent to
778 the royal dignity" (1).

1. See Friederici, op. cit., p. 501.

Neither is royal dignity "exclusively reserved for those who are of purest blood" (1). In that case the principle of

/77 cont./ 1. Ibid.

644 778 182 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

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Chapter II

Social Status

114 565 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren," Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlands-Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

/113 cont./
Slaves (ata)

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Matthes translates the term ata by "slave," "servant," "subject." This translation is still correct, even today. When the Prince of Goa speaks of his ata, it must be determined from the context whether he means by that his slaves, his followers, or his subjects, or possibly even his noble confederates. If someone refers to himself as ata in relation to the Prince, this is a self-abasement which -- especially if an important person is involved -- /114/ frequently amounts to an excessive elevation of the Prince and thus, at the same time, of the speaker himself.

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It is as difficult to translate the concept ata with a single term as it is to describe someone's social status in fixed, known terms. A translation is only possible if the relationship of the speaker to the one whose ata he considers himself to be is clear. Ata indicates a relationship. A resident of kampong Pakatto who calls himself an ata (subject) of the Prince of Goa turns out to own an ata (slave) himself.

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Insofar as the term ata is translated by "slave," it appears that slaves belong to the highest social class. Friedericy reports that they were generally despised, but that court slaves occupied a privileged position compared to ordinary people (1). It seems that slaves cannot be placed in a fixed

1. H. J. Friedericy, Dissertation, p. 551.

social hierarchy. They do not form an integrated group, either. Each slave has individual ties with his master. Their position can merely be indicated by the relationship to their master.

The position of slaves in Makassarese-Buginese country does not give rise to strong sentiments. "Even

177 /134 cont./ goalkeeper of the karaëng's team was easily
554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaëng had the ball,
576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaëng
526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he, and not the karaëng who was the loser in this collision. It is understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams, high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive" in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaëng can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
● 644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable character.

565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
643 consequently has an element of durability.

838 /154 cont./ on roads. Her kinsmen accepted these transgressions of the sex prohibitions without further ado. Apparently they did not think of the forbidden contact situation in which she found herself.

838 793 644 From a description by Matthes, it appears (1) that in his

1. B. F. Matthes, Over de Bissoe's of Heidense Priesters der Boegineezen /Concerning the Bissú or Heathen Priests of the Buginese/.

time (around 1870) a number of bissu lived at several courts of the princes. These were men who dressed and behaved partly like women. They took care of the ornaments and performed the ritual belonging to them. One old bissu, a senile man, who was only charged with guarding the ornaments [178] still lived in the palace of the Prince of Goa in 1939. At that time women were already performing the ritual. In 1949, he seemed to have died. The guarding services had then also passed into the hands of the women.

178 838 644 The disappearance of the bissu at the courts could, among other things, be a consequence of the dawning realization that, according to Moslem law, homosexuality is prohibited. The reason that they had disappeared as much as a generation ago at one court and, at the other court, continued to exist until recently could possibly be found in the differences in strictness of religious ideas held by various princes.

838 793 /155/ Only in the little place of Segeri, 75 kilometers north of Macassar, can a number of bissu still be found to this day. There they take care of the ornament and perform the ritual pertaining to it. A number of them are married and live in their own house with wife and children. They dress

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158/ in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept the fact that they are different from other boys. When they get older, they continue in their attitude. This entails certain consequences with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being

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843/158 cont./ a bissu as long as he merely conducts himself
644 half as a man and half as a woman during the ritual.

The bissu institution gave a number of kawe kawe the opportunity of acquiring a social standing which they never would have acquired if they had remained in their own kampong.

178 The kawe kawe did not disappear with the disappearance
838 of the bissu institution, however. At present, insofar as they
548 did not remain in their kampongs like Taking, they live as prostitutes in the marketplaces. However, in their kampongs the opportunity for sexual satisfaction is extremely restricted because contact with women is practically out of the question and contact with male relatives or kampong fellows is disapproved. This would easily make the migration to the
[839] pasar places comprehensible. Mutual masturbation seems to be the customary method of satisfying sexual needs.

/159/ The accentuated masculine personality idea leads
838 a number of boys to attach themselves socially to girls and women. The strict sanctions concerning contact with women force these men, once they have been accepted into the group of the women, to turn to their own sex for sexual satisfaction.

Unmarried People

114 In a discussion of the position of unmarried men and
589 women in kampong Bontoramba, it must first be indicated
885 who is included in this term. Widowers, widows, and divorced men and women are for the time being left out of consideration. For the census of 1930 the rule was adopted "that adulthood in the case of girls begins with marriageability, and in the case of boys with the ability to work" (1). Just a little further

1. Volkstelling 1930, Part 5, p. 54.